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ABSTRACT

This paper highlights the findings of Gougeon's 1989 study of high school principals of schools with grade configurations 9 through 12 in the state of Washington, a study based on the Principal Leadership as Social Control (PLASC) theory. Accordingly, the first section describes the PLASC theory as social control of teachers through power- and authority-based interactions that bring teacher expectations into alignment with the expectations of the school. The PLASC theory explains social control of teachers through a matrix of six leadership dimensions, three authority-based and three power-based. In the PLASC instrument used in the study, these leadership dimensions are measured by means of Likert scales through which principals assess the importance they attribute to each dimension, in both theory and practice. Results are reported for each of the six dimensions: (1) Organizational Functional Structures Dimension (OFS); (2) Teacher Experiences Systems (Authority) Dimension (TESA); (3) Principal Task Activities Dimension (PTA); (4) Power Structure Systems Dimension (PSS); (5) Teacher Experiences Systems (Power) Dimension (TESP); and (6) Principal Reward/Punishment Actions Dimension (PRPA). Remaining sections discuss dynamics of the leadership process and the meaning of leadership as social control. The study proposes three communication alternatives--official, personal, and structural--that principals can employ to gain effective social control over teachers. References are included. (TE)

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LEADERSHIP AS SOCIAL CONTROL:

THE HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALSHIP

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I. INTRODUCTION

Social control concepts in this paper are based upon work done in social control theory by Mitchell and Spady (1977a,b), and Spady and Mitchell (1977). Since, work of Reed, Krysinski, Gougeon, and Armstrong (1987) and Gougeon (1989) extended the theory to leadership as social control and developed leadership assessment instruments to further explore the relationships among elements of the theory.

This paper is based on the report of Gougeon's (1989) study of high school principals of schools with grade configurations 9 through 12 in the State of Washington and highlights its findings.

II. THE PLASC THEORY

The Principal Leadership as Social Control (PLASC) Theory says that, once expectations between teachers and the school are in alignment, teachers become socially controlled through power and authority based interactions. Expectations of the school organization characterized by group norms and values are often in conflict with individual teacher expectations that provide standards for teacher action alternatives. Specifically, tensions which exist between teacher expectations and the expectations of the school must be dealt with before teachers' actions can be guided or directed.

Teacher expectations may be aligned by principals who represent the school's organizational perspective. Teachers interact through the school's structural, personal, and

official communication alternatives resulting in their expectations becoming aligned with the school's. Principals may support specific structures in which teachers are predominant, the principal may provide specific personal experiences which teachers perceive, or the principal may do specific official tasks and activities in which teachers are involved to lessen the tension and align expectations.

Once the tensions are dealt with, principals who represent the organization guide and direct teacher actions manipulating power and authority mechanisms of control. Authority is the most basic control mechanism guiding teachers through exchanges characterized by intrinsic, voluntary, and transformational teacher responses. The power mechanism of control arises from authority but is different from authority in that power based control utilizes various extrinsic rewards and punishments and guides teachers through exchanges characterized by transactional teacher responses.

The PLASC Theory explains social control of teachers through six leadership dimensions; three authority based and three power based. Each dimension of the PLASC Theory is characterized by a family of strategies the principal may employ to influence appropriate teacher actions. Two dimensions operate in principal-teacher dyadic structures, two operate either in dyadic or principal-small group structures, and two operate in principal-whole faculty structures.

The authority based Organizational Functional Structures dimension (OFS) gives all teachers benefits of organizational structures that provide formal intrinsic experiences in return for desirable teacher responses. It operates in a principal-whole faculty structure. For example, the school system certifies all teachers who qualify by meeting school organizational standards set for them. The school also acculturates all teachers into the organization who participate in its functions. Teachers in these examples would benefit by increasing their opportunity for advancement and recognition, and by developing a strong sense of belonging and pride with the organization.

The authority based Teacher Experiences System (TESA) dimension gives teachers personal experiences with the organization when the principal acts personally in a principal-teacher dyadic structure providing personal intrinsic experiences in return for appropriate behavior. For example, the principal may value a teacher who is acting in a desirable manner. As a result, the teacher experiences a sense of worthiness from the principal as a person. As a leadership dimension, TESA potentially transforms teachers' values and attitudes enabling them to be independent workers in the organization.

The authority based Principal Task Activities (PTA) dimension is a family of official actions taken by the principal engaging teachers directly in a principal-teacher dyadic structure or in a principal-small groups structure

providing formal intrinsic experiences which are the work of the organization. For example, principals involve groups of teachers in the work of the organization by assessing or evaluating them. In response, teachers perform or demonstrate competencies within the organization. The potential is great to transform values and attitudes of teachers bringing expectations into alignment with the organization's through this authority based dimension.

The power based Power Structure Systems (PSS) dimension provides rewards or punishments to teachers as appropriate in a principal-whole faculty social structure. Principals can support positive or negative social structures which control and direct functionally structured social actions of teachers providing formal extrinsic experiences. For example, principals can support the social structures in the school to effect either social isolation or admiration of teachers depending upon circumstances. Teachers' actions may be controlled because they desire to be admired or wish to avoid social isolation from their peers.

The power based Teacher Experiences System (TESP) dimension provides personally felt one-to-one extrinsic experiences which make power resources effective in controlling teacher behavior. Principals invoking this leadership dimension operate in a principal-teacher dyadic structure or principal-small group structure and provide teachers experiences they either desire or wish to avoid. For example, teachers will behave in ways to avoid shame or

to be given honor. These experiences, although provided by the principal on a personal level are felt between the teachers and other teachers in the school. As such, the punishments or rewards are given meaning by virtue of peer responses. TESP is therefore defined as power based relying on extrinsic rewards or punishments.

The power based Principal Reward and Punishment Actions (PRPA) dimension are an array of rewards and punishments which the principal gives teachers in a principal-teacher dyadic structure or principal-small group structure providing them formal extrinsic experiences to control their behavior. Teachers' actions are controlled because they wish to avoid punishment or gain rewards. For example, teachers may wish to avoid ridicule from the principal or to gain approval or praise.

The six leadership dimensions, OFS, TESA, PTA, PSS, TESP, and PRPA are illustrated in Figure 1.0.

Figure 1.0: Six Leadership Dimensions.
A 2 X 3 Matrix of Principal Social Control Mechanisms v. Alternatives Communicating School Expectations to which Teachers Respond

		ALTERNATIVES COMMUNICATING SCHOOL EXPECTATIONS TO WHICH TEACHERS RESPOND		
		STRUCTURAL (S_T)	**PERSONAL** (P_T)	**OFFICIAL** (O_T)
MECHANISMS OF SOCIAL CONTROL	**AUTHORITY**	OFS	TESA	PTA
	POWER	PSS (+,-)	TESP (+,-)	PRPA (+,-)

A. SCALES

Leadership dimensions are measured by means of simple Likert interval appearing scales which ask the principal to think normatively, descriptively, and critically about characteristics of each dimension.

1. Importance Scale

How Important Is This:	1 = Unimportant
	2 = Of Little Importance
	3 = Moderately Important
	4 = Important
	5 = Very Important

Principals are expected to consider each dimension normatively in the Importance Scale. The Importance Scale teases out a sense principals have of organizational expectations and it is expected that leadership characteristics will be rated by principals as they think they ought to rate them instead of how they personally think they are rated. This is a rating phenomenon referred to as "social desirability." Principals who rate dimensions by social desirability are influenced by how they think they ought to rate characteristics by their peers more so than how they would rate them themselves.

2. Hard Scale

How Hard Do I Work At This:	1 = not At All
	2 = Not Very Hard
	3 = Moderately Hard
	4 = Hard
	5 = Very Hard

Rating the Hard Scale provides descriptive data on principals' expectations of themselves. Responding to how hard they work causes principals a greater challenge than responding to how important each dimension is. Accordingly, the range of distribution of responses for this scale is wider than for the importance ratings. The Importance Scale combined with the Hard Scale provides an aggregate measure

of expectations reflecting both organizational and personal expectations of the principal who is responsible for aligning teacher expectations with the expectations of the organization.

3. Effective Scale

How Effective Am I At This:	1 = Ineffective
	2 = Of Little Effect
	3 = Moderately Effective
	4 = Effective
	5 = Very Effective

The Effective Scale asks principals to be critical about themselves. This evaluative data provides an insight into principals' self described areas of talent when compared to the corresponding Hard Scale data. Principals who rate themselves high at working hard to achieve a leadership dimension but low at being effective at implementing it may describe themselves as not being skillful in that area. As well, principals who rate themselves low at working hard and high at being effective at implementation may describe themselves as being skillful in the area in question.

B. AUTHORITY BASED LEADERSHIP DIMENSIONS

1. Organizational Functional Structures Dimension (OFS)

The first subscale of the PLASC Theory indicates the degree to which organizational structures, routines, or patterns of behavior are formally supported by principals to control teachers. Teachers experience these structures attributing symbolic value or meanings to them. Principals who effectively use this dimension of the PLASC Theory tend to develop independent, self motivated teachers. The PLASC Instrument was given to principals of grades 9 through 12 schools in the State of Washington (Gougeon, 1989). Although the OFS dimension did not correlate significantly with any leadership factors, a number of tendencies can be described after a qualitative survey of the data.

More female principals rated themselves as working hard supporting OFS to control social actions of teachers compared to male principals. This result is consistent with findings of several researchers of principal gender studies in which building relationships is reported to be correlated more highly with female principals compared to males (Ortiz and Marshall, 1988). OFS is authority based, drawing upon deeply felt respect for the principal as a means of controlling behavior. This is consistent with a relationship building orientation.

Fewer principals with 19 or more years teaching experience before they entered administration rated OFS as an important dimension of leadership. This may be explained

because the longer one teaches in the school system, the more thoroughly one understands the values and attitudes of teachers. Principals with many years of teaching experience can utilize their thorough understanding of teachers to decide how to control them, and when the circumstances demand it, they will confidently employ other dimensions of leadership to effect social control. Thus, principals with many years of teaching experience may view the use of OFS as approximately the same in importance as any other dimension, and not more. The OFS scale listing questionnaire items follows.

Organizational Functional Structures Scale

First, please respond to the leadership items on the separate answer form provided. For each item there are three scales which represent independent judgments. Please circle the appropriate number on each scale.

1. Helping teachers learn the ropes
2. Helping effective and loyal teachers feel part of the team.
3. Creating public recognition for teachers who do work well.
4. Allowing individual high achieving teachers additional responsibility.
5. Developing professional inservice for teachers.
6. Giving effective teachers recognition and expanded areas of control.

2. Teacher Experience Systems Dimension (TESA)

The second subscale of the PLASC Theory indicates the degree of importance placed on episodes that control teachers through direct personal experiences with their principals. Teachers attribute symbolic value or meanings to these experiences. Similarly to OFS, principals who effectively use the TESA dimension of the PLASC Theory tend to develop independent, self motivated teachers.

Results reported in the Gougeon (1989) study indicate the TESA dimension correlates significantly with gender. In all three scales, female principals rate themselves significantly higher than male principals. This finding is in strong agreement with other studies which report greater female principal orientation to consideration of subordinates compared to productivity or task in the organization. However caution is exercised by the reader keeping in mind that the instrument was constructed by a male and may be biased to male attitudes. This being the case, the instrument may not be valid for female respondents. Items of the TESA scale are listed below.

Teacher Experience Systems Scale

First, please respond to the leadership items on the separate answer form provided. For each item there are three scales which represent independent judgments. Please circle the appropriate number on each scale.

1. Developing close personal relationships with teachers.
2. Knowing teachers well on an individual and personal basis.
3. Valuing teachers as a worthwhile group of people.
4. Letting teachers know that I care about them and their work.
5. Focusing on teachers' strengths during supervision of their work.
6. Showing teachers ways to improve their classroom performance.
7. Modeling professional techniques for individual teachers to follow.

3. Principal Task Activities Dimension (PTA)

The third subscale of the PLASC Theory indicates how principals rate importance of doing authority based tasks which can control teacher behavior. Teachers experience PTA actions attributing symbolic value or meanings to them. Similar to OFS and TESA, principals who effectively use this dimension of the PLASC Theory tend to develop independent, self motivated teachers.

Results of the Gougeon (1989) study indicate the PTA significantly correlates with gender. In all three scales, female principals rate themselves significantly higher than male principals. Similarly to TESA, this finding is in

strong agreement with other studies which report greater female principal orientation to consideration of workers compared to orientation to task or productivity. Again, the caution stated above is relevant. Listed below are the TESA scale items.

Principal Task Activities Scale

First, please respond to the leadership items on the separate answer form provided. For each item there are three scales which represent independent judgments. Please circle the appropriate number on each scale.

1. Helping teachers learn the ropes.
2. Acknowledging teachers who positively contribute to the school's operation.
3. Guiding teachers concerning better ways to manage their classrooms.
4. Focusing on teachers' strengths during supervision of their work.
5. Supervising the implementation of teacher programs.
6. Advising individual teachers regarding requirements.
7. Assigning teachers to appropriate grade levels, classes and duties.
8. Delegating responsibilities to individual teachers based upon their strengths.
9. Explaining ways of instructing.
10. Developing professional inservice for teachers.

C. POWER BASED DIMENSIONS

1. Power Structure Systems Dimension (PSS)

The fourth subscale of the PLASC Theory is power based, and it indicates the degree to which supporting organizational structures, routines, or patterns of behavior

to control teachers is important to principals. Teachers experience PSS through positive or negative structures. Power based leadership dimensions characteristically have extrinsic rewards and punishments. Consequently a positive and negative scale are required to tap into the PSS concept measuring the degree of support principals give to this dimension of controlling teachers.

Results reported in the Gougeon (1989) study indicate PSS is significantly correlated with two factors of the principalship. Principals with 19 or more years teaching experience before they entered administration rate themselves significantly higher in working hard to support both the positive and negative scales of PSS than principals with less teaching experience. Principals confident in their knowledge of the teaching process work hard at using organizational structures to reward or punish teachers. Specifically, a principal might expand responsibilities of highly rated teachers and provide greater autonomy to encourage them to work unimpeded by organizational constraints. Or, a principal might deny poorly rated teachers their desired teaching assignments as a form of punishment. Principals who have much experience teaching think that controlling teaching using PSS is appropriate.

Principals of schools with large student enrollments also rate themselves significantly higher as working hard to support both positive and negative aspects of PSS compared to principals of small student enrollments. An explanation

for this finding is principals of larger schools have fewer opportunities to develop relationships with teachers and thus resort to using control strategies which can be applied universally, through rewards and punishments. The PSS Scale follows.

Power Structure Systems Scale

First, please respond to the leadership items on the separate answer form provided. For each item there are three scales which represent independent judgments. Please circle the appropriate number on each scale.

Positive Scale

1. Enabling successful teachers feel admired professionally by personally giving praise and attention.
2. Creating public recognition for teachers who do work well.
3. Giving effective teachers recognition and expanded areas of control.
4. Giving more influence to teachers who are leaders.
5. Providing high achieving teachers with additional responsibilities.
6. Personally advocating for the careers of particularly promising teachers.

Negative Scale

1. Isolating unprofessional teachers from their usual support groups.
2. Withholding recognition and support from unprofessional teachers.
3. Personally counselling teachers who do not show promise of becoming successful to reconsider their career options.
4. Assigning poorer teachers to classes where possible negative effects are minimized.

2. Teacher Experience Systems (Power) Dimension (TESP)

The fifth subscale of the PLASC Theory is power based, and indicates the degree to which principals provide direct power experiences for teachers as a strategy of control. Consistent with power based dimensions, principals directly engage teachers through TESP experiencing rewards or punishments. Thus a positive and negative scale characterize this leadership dimension.

According to results of Gougeon's (1989) study, principals of large schools rate themselves significantly higher working hard to provide TESP experiences compared to principals of small schools. This is a similar finding to the PSS scale. The larger the school, the more desirable it is to use power based dimensions to control teacher behavior. An explanation forwarded is that principals of larger schools have fewer opportunities to use effective authority based leadership dimensions which require taking the time to establish individual relationships with each teacher. It is more efficient to react to all teachers providing rewards and punishments which all understand and all accept as part of the school system. The items of the TESP scales are shown below.

Teacher Experience Systems Scale

First, please respond to the leadership items on the separate answer form provided. For each item there are three scales which represent independent judgments. Please circle the appropriate number on each scale.

Positive Scale

1. Helping effective and loyal teachers feel part of the team.
2. Involving teachers you can count on in planning for school.
3. Giving reliable teachers latitude to make more of their own decisions.
4. Allowing dependable teachers to work more on their own.
5. Helping effective teachers feel professionally important.
6. Publicly recognizing the importance of skilled professional teachers.
7. Granting greater program control to high achieving teachers.
8. Allowing individual high achieving teachers additional responsibility.

Negative Scale

1. Making unsuccessful teachers question their reasons for staying in teaching.
2. Challenging teachers who consistently fail to meet standards to improve their work.
3. Making all teachers follow school policies.
4. Enforcing rules and regulations on teachers who are not complying.
5. Making sure unprofessional teachers are held accountable for their conduct.
6. Confronting poor teachers with their professional shortcomings.
7. Controlling the flexibility and administrative support available to low-achieving teachers.
8. Controlling the availability of school resources for low-achieving teachers.

3. Principal Reward/Punishment Actions Dimension (PRPA)

The sixth subscale of the PLASC Theory is power based and indicates the degree to which principals regard reward and punishment tasks as important in controlling teacher behavior. Consistent with the other two power based leadership dimensions, principals control teachers through PRPA positive or negative resources. Principals reward loyal teachers by helping them, giving them praise, or giving them personal influence. They punish unprofessional teachers by withholding recognition, assigning undesirable teaching loads, or by critically challenging their standards of performance.

The Gougeon (1989) results indicate that principals with 19 or more years teaching experience before entering administration rate themselves significantly higher in both punishment and reward scales compared to principals with fewer years previous teaching experience. Principals experienced in teaching rate themselves as working significantly harder at rewarding and punishing teachers as appropriate. They also rate significantly higher the importance of giving punishments to teachers compared to principals with less teaching experience. The explanation of this finding is the same as the PSS explanation for its similar finding.

Principals of large schools also rate themselves significantly higher working hard to giving punishments to teachers as appropriate in order to establish control compared to principals of schools with small student enrollments. The finding is consistent with both PSS and TESP power based dimensions of leadership. Attitudes of principals of larger schools are more positive toward the use of rewards and punishment to control teacher behavior compared to attitudes of small school principals. The PRPA Scales follow.

Principal Reward and Punishment Actions Scale

First, please respond to the leadership items on the separate answer form provided. For each item there are three scales which represent independent judgments. Please circle the appropriate number on each scale.

Reward Scale

1. Helping effective and loyal teachers feel part of the team.
2. Enabling successful teachers feel admired professionally by personally giving praise and attention.
3. Creating public recognition for teachers who do work well.
4. Giving reliable teachers latitude to make more of their own decisions.
5. Helping effective teachers feel professionally important.
6. Giving effective teachers recognition and expanded areas of control.
7. Giving more influence to teachers who are leaders.
8. Granting greater program control to high achieving teachers.
9. Personally advocating for the careers of particularly promising teachers.

Punishment Scale

1. Challenging teachers who consistently fail to meet standards to improve their work.
2. Isolating unprofessional teachers from their usual support groups.
3. Withholding recognition and support from unprofessional teachers.
4. Controlling the flexibility and administrative support available to low-achieving teachers.
5. Assigning poorer teachers to classes where possible negative effects are minimized.

D. MEASURING AUTHORITY AND POWER

Power and authority are mechanisms of social control basic to all social interactions. Authority is the most basic; power being derived from authority experiences. Authority occurs when a person is influenced by another because of felt significances or meanings attributed to him/her. In this regard, those under authority behave in accordance to the will of those in authority and respond to the intrinsic, and transforming character of authority voluntarily. Specifically, the concept of authority used in this paper is the ability to manifest voluntary social control over teachers because of inner character of a principal.

Authority relationships among people require continuous and long term interactions. Authority builds gradually, in a unique way between two people. A teacher is under authority based on his/her symbolic meanings attributed to the character of the principal. Even though a principal may hold an entire staff under authority, authority relationships between each teacher and the principal is unique.

Four modes are the basis of authority. They are charisma, tradition, legality, and expertise. Teachers under authority are influenced because of their responses to one or more of these modes. They are influenced because of the likability of the principal, because the principal always

has his/her way, because it is required legally, or because the principal has special expertise.

Authority is based on teachers' responses to the modes of authority regardless of which alternative is used to communicate school expectations. Consequently, authority is measured separately by OFS, TESA, or PTA scales, or by summing the scales to calculate the overall authority orientation of principals.

Power operates in situations where the effects of authority are weak or non-existent. The concept of power in this paper is the ability to manifest voluntary or involuntary social control over teachers because of external resources of a principal. In this regard, those under power may be coerced to behave in accordance to the segmental, immediate, and universal effects of power resources. Whereas action taken by teachers under authority may be transformational, behavior taken by teachers under power is characterized as transactional which may remain unchanged only as long as teachers remain under power. Principals hold teachers under power when teachers either desire a particular reward or wish to avoid a particular punishment.

There are four modes basic to power. Each is derived from a mode of authority and is used when the effects of the authority mode is weak or non-existent. Psychological power derives from charismatic authority. Moral power derives from traditional authority. Contractual power is based upon legal

authority, and technical power derives from expert authority.

Two power scales exist for each power based leadership dimension. Consequently, measurement of power is by positive or negative PSS, TESP, or PRPA scales. Since power is the use of rewards and punishments, power is also measured by summing positive and negative PSS, TESP, and PRPA scales. All scales may be summed to measure overall power tendencies.

E. EFFECTIVE USE OF THE S_T P_T O_T COMMUNICATION ALTERNATIVES

Teachers learn of the school's expectations through sources of communication which naturally occur in the organization. When teachers align their expectations in response to these communications, they are receptive to social control forces. Specifically, the structural (S_T) communication alternative is operational when teachers under control relate to school organizational norms, values, or patterns of expected behavior within the organization. The personal (P_T) communication alternative is operational when teachers under control relate to the values and attitudes of other members of the school. And, the official (O_T) communication alternative is operational when teachers who are under control relate to values and attitudes officially held by the principal.

Ideally, the principal controls teachers using authority based leadership dimensions. When under authority teachers ultimately transform their values, beliefs, and

attitudes and consequently become independent, self initiating workers who can work without close supervision. However the principal may draw upon the complete repertoire of authority and power based dimensions in the event they are required.

As reported in Gougeon (1989), the loci of communications are hierarchically related to one another. Principals prefer to use O_T first, then P_T, and finally they select S_T. Considering an ideal situation of using authority based leadership dimensions before power based dimensions to control teachers, the normative hierarchical order of use of leadership dimensions is PTA, TESA, OFS, PRPA, TESP, and PSS. Of course, depending on judgment, the principal may elect to draw on power dimensions when the desired effect of authority based control is not adequate.

III. VALIDATION EVIDENCE

To this point of development, the instrument has completed several stages of refinement (Gougeon, 1989). The instrument was critiqued in the early stages of development by an acknowledged expert and author of social control theory. Douglas Mitchell (Spady and Mitchell, 1977) recommended several semantic changes and fundamental organizational changes to the instrument. He recommended the development of the three above rating scales: Important, Hard, and Effective.

Instrument measures were taken to minimize the threats to validity and reliability. The instrument was pilot tested

on three occasions using school administrators as respondents. During one pilot test, respondents were observed to determine their ease of using the instrument questionnaire and answer forms. They were asked to write down concerns about the instrument in general and items in particular completion. During another pilot test a seminar was conducted with the respondents at the end of the session. An item by item analysis helped to identify many phrases and concepts which caused the respondents concern.

Items in the instrument are conceptually paired with two items representing each social control concept. Correlations of the paired items were measured using two modified split half correlational techniques. The first split half technique identified correlational measures between paired items by leadership styles. Authority oriented leaders tend to have difficulty consistently responding to power based items, and power oriented leaders tend to have difficulty consistently responding to authority based items. The split half procedure enabled sorting out items with low correlations due to ambiguity of concept from items with low correlations due to leadership style response bias.

The second modified split half technique involved two separate but representative groups of principals. One group received even numbered items and the other received odd numbered items. This procedure eliminated the possibility of respondents scoring the first item of a pair and then

scoring the second item in a corresponding manner having recognized its similarities. Results from this procedure were compared with those of the first procedure, and final decisions to eliminate 14 paired items from the instrument were made.

The last procedure involved Factor analytic calculations which were conducted as a replication measure of the leadership scales. As a result, the PSS positive scale was modified. Finally, Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficient was calculated to determine item to scale correlational measures. The TESA leadership dimension scale was modified and as a result, all scales measured over .80, an acceptably high measure.

IV. DYNAMICS OF THE LEADERSHIP PROCESS

The principal process involves the use of power and authority modes to guide and direct teachers while simultaneously aligning the school's and the teacher's expectations. What does "school's expectations" specifically mean? The school's expectations are communicated to teachers three ways. The principal can officially represent the school's expectations. Thus teachers respond to their understanding of the school's expectations as communicated through the office of the principal.

The second communication alternative is characterized by the personal nature of communications of school members, significantly the principal. For the purpose of this paper only the principal is considered to communicate school

expectations from a personal perspective. Accordingly, the teacher responds to what he/she interprets to be the expectations of the school as communicated personally by the principal.

The third communication alternative of school expectations is collectively referred to as the school's structure. The school manifests values and norms through patterns of behavior. For example, a school's emphasis on reading is communicated by daily, school-wide reading periods. So teachers become aware of the structures or patterns that exist in the school and interpret school expectations as communicated through these observations.

The following is a discussion of dynamics of the three communication alternatives presented in hierarchical order.

A. OFFICIAL COMMUNICATION ALTERNATIVES

Leadership dimensions which fall under the official communications alternative involve power and authority based tasks and activities done by the principal. Tasks, in social control theory, link the individual with the collectivity, or specifically link the teacher with the school organization. It may be argued that tasks are the most elemental aspects of the organization itself.

The authority based leadership dimension under this communications alternative is PTA. Tasks done by the principal are operationally described by the following terms: helping, acknowledging, guiding, emphasizing strengths, supervising, advising, assigning benefits,

delegating based on strengths, and explaining. PTA tasks may be characterized as being one-on-one or small group interactions which may be interpreted by the teacher, internalized, and given deeply felt meanings. Principals officially communicate school expectations directly through these tasks.

The power based leadership dimension under this alternative is PRPA. Positive tasks done by the principal are described by the following terms: helping, admiring, recognizing, giving latitude, feeling important, giving influence, providing autonomy, and advocating. These positive terms may be characterized as occurring one-on-one or in small groups, and they are sought by the teacher as rewards for work well done. The negative PRPA tasks done by the principal are described by the following terms: critically challenge, isolate, withhold, limit support, assign critically. These terms are characterized similarly as occurring one-on-one or in small groups but avoided as punishments by teachers.

Principals prefer to use the authority based PTA first as a means of gaining social control over teachers. Once principals elect to use power, they prefer to use PRPA first as a means of gaining social control.

B. PERSONAL COMMUNICATION ALTERNATIVES

Leadership dimensions under the personal communications alternative involve personal power and authority based experiences between the principal and teachers. A teacher

experiences a principal at a personal level when the teacher feels a bond with the principal resulting from strong emotional or affective interactions. The principal drops the principal role and acts in a manner which may be characterized by "principal as person."

The authority based leadership dimension under this communication alternative is TESA. Experiences between the principal and individual teachers are internalized with teachers attributing meanings to actions of the principal who represents the school's expectations. The following terms operationally describe this dimension: developing personal relationships, knowing well, valuing, modeling, helping to personally improve, and caring. TESA experiences may be characterized as being dyadic, expressions of the principal as a person, personal, and intrinsic. Because each teacher forms a dyad with the principal who communicates expectations, TESA is characterized as being unique and particularistic. The principal forms a unique relationship with each teacher and actions are attributed different meanings by different teachers. In this way, principals can communicate the school's expectation system to teachers.

The power based leadership dimension under this communication alternative is TESP. The positive experiences of TESP are characterized by the following terms: including, involving, giving freedom, allowing autonomy, giving sense of importance, recognizing, and increasing potential. These positive terms may be characterized as being from the

principal as person, dyadic or small group, rewards for appropriate behavior, personal, and extrinsic. The negative TESA experiences are characterized as follows: challenging, questioning, enforcing, holding accountable, confronting, and controlling. These negative terms may be characterized similarly to the positive terms with the exception that the principal as a person punishes teachers for inappropriate behavior. Teachers will modify their behavior to avoid these punishments.

Principals prefer to use these dimensions after they have implemented the respective power and authority official dimensions as a means of gaining social control over teachers.

C. STRUCTURAL COMMUNICATION ALTERNATIVES

Leadership dimensions under the structural communication alternative involve aspects that distinguishes a particular school from others. Schools are distinguished by rules and policies that are set and by norms and standards that are met. Schools are distinguished by routines or patterned behaviors followed by their members, and by programs and curricula implemented. A teacher is influenced by authority or power based experiences with structures to behave appropriately. Principals can emphasize different structures and thus communicate school expectations to teachers.

The authority based leadership dimension under this communication alternative is OFS. Experiences between

teachers and structures of the school organization are influenced by the principal, and teachers attribute meanings to these experiences resulting in individual behavior change. The following terms operationally describe this dimension: socializing, including, publicly recognizing, allowing extra responsibility, personally helping, and expanding potential. OFS characteristically is a group phenomenon involving two or more members of the organization. Teachers experience group actions and behaviors but individual teachers attribute their own unique meanings to them. OFS structures are principal supported, non personal, intrinsic phenomena which teachers internalize.

The power based leadership dimension under this locus of communications is PSS. Positive phenomena of PSS may be characterized by the following terms: admiring professionally, recognizing publicly, expanding areas of control, developing leadership skills, expanding areas of responsibility, and advocating careers. Negative phenomena for PSS may be characterized as follows: isolating from peers, withholding organizational recognition, encouraging career change, and assigning lower level organizational duties. The terms from the positive and negative scales may be characterized as being reward or punishment structures supported by the principal, and group oriented rather than dyadic. They are non personal, universal, and extrinsic.

The principal is capable of influencing the degree to which teachers are affected by these structures and thereby communicating school expectations to teachers. In this manner, the principal can effectively control the behavior of teachers.

V. MEANING OF LEADERSHIP AS SOCIAL CONTROL

Leadership as social control is characterized having two critical processes. 1. The process which must be implemented first is the alignment of follower expectations with the expectations of the organization. 2. The second process necessary to social control is guiding and directing teachers to behave appropriately within the organization.

1. Alignment of expectations is done three ways. The leader defines organizational expectations by communicating officially to the follower (O^{P}_{T}). The leader can define organizational expectations by communicating on a personal, unofficial level with the follower (P^{P}_{T}). Or, the leader can define organizational expectations indirectly by influencing the degree of impact organizational norms, routines, patterns, and programs have on the follower (S^{P}_{T}).

O^{P}_{T} represents the relationships of the principal and teacher with the official communication alternative within the school expectation system. The principal influences official communication to which the teacher responds. Whenever the principal communicates with a teacher officially, it is done with the principal acting out the role of the office.

P^P_T represents the relationships of the principal and teacher with the personal communication alternative. The principal influences personal communication to which the teacher responds. Whenever the principal communicates with a teacher personally, it is done with the principal dropping his/her official role and instead communicating person to person.

S^P_T represents the relationships of the principal and teacher with the structural communication alternative. The principal influences structural qualities of the school which indirectly represents priorities of the school. In this case, the principal communicates indirectly with the teacher who feels the impact of the school's structural system and not the impact of the principal his/herself.

2. Directing and guiding teachers is done in two ways. The principal can guide and direct teachers through an emotional bonding process which is based on a response to the principal's inner qualities and character. The principal also can guide and direct teachers through the appropriate use of extrinsic rewards and punishments.

Guiding and directing teachers through a bonding process is an outcome of authoritative leadership which requires constant, long term investment in relationship building with individual teachers by the principal. Successful authoritative principals are capable of maintaining leadership styles over the years, consistently interacting with teachers.

On a personal level, the authoritative principal is seen to embody desirable characteristics of the school, to experience teachers in a positive affective manner, to interact with stabilizing effect with teachers, and/or to possess highly prized and rare abilities. The principal functions by valuing teachers and displaying respect, by encountering teachers and attracting them, by regulating actions of teachers and enhancing their sense of legitimacy, and/or by executing difficult tasks for teachers and mastering problems.

Teachers under authority respond by feeling worthy, feeling intimacy, feeling secure, and feeling adequate. They transform their expectations to align with the school's and voluntarily behave in accordance with the school's wishes. Social control is achieved as teachers' expectations are connected directly to the existence of intrinsically fulfilling authority experiences.

Guiding and directing teachers through the appropriate use of extrinsic rewards and punishments is characteristic of power leadership which is based on immediate tangible or symbolic resources recognized universally by teachers. Successful power principals implement strategies which may apply to all teachers in the school. Power principals need not maintain a leadership style consistent over time but may change style depending upon issues.

On a personal level, the power principal is capable of establishing ethical and relational school wide norms, of

dominating teachers psychologically, of manipulating cost/benefits inherent in people interactions, and of controlling information and or materiel. The power principal functions by applying normative pressure over the organization, by possessing an affective appeal with teachers, by enforcing solutions on parties in dispute, and by controlling teachers' capacities to achieve.

Teachers respond to gain rewards or to avoid punishment. They respond to avoid condemnation, to avoid social rejection, to avoid coercion, and/or to avoid deprivation. They respond to gain social recognition or honor, to gain a sense of attachment and acceptance, to gain control and greater autonomy, and/or to gain a sense of potency and accomplishment.

Reward and punishment resources are effective only when teachers attribute positive or negative meaning to them. Resources used in power are interpreted as rewards and punishments by teachers who in turn modify their expectations. Expectations are ultimately connected to fulfilling authority experiences. In this way power resources are outcomes of respective authority experiences.

Principals commonly use authority experiences and power resources as tools of their trade. Depending on the situation, principals select appropriate tools for use to effect social control over teachers. Principals rate authority experiences as their first choice, especially those experiences based on official tasks and activities

(Gougeon 1989). However, when teachers do not respond at all to authority experiences, or their responses are inadequate, principals use can power resources to intensify the effect of social control over teachers.

VI. CONCLUSION

Developing the Principal Leadership As Social Control Theory is significant to the field of educational administration. Based upon the work of Spady and Mitchell (1977) which developed a social control theory explaining student-teacher interactions in classrooms, the PLASC theory offers a comprehensive theory of leadership during a time in want of such theories.

Developing the PLASC instrument is substantively significant to educational administration. Developing the instrument stimulated a more intense review of the PLASC theory, for instrument development necessitated careful definition of conceptual linkages and demanded clear logical connections among the parts of the theory.

As well, the PLASC instrument enabled the testing of the theory using a sample of high school principals by statistical analysis on data collected by the instrument. Comparisons were made between leadership theoretically constructed and leadership realistically assessed in the field. Compatibilities among the PLASC theory, the PLASC assessment instrument, and the statistical output were explored.

The study has a practical significance to educators in the field as well. Although power and authority strategies used by leaders are mainly dependent upon the personality type of the leader and cannot readily be modified under actual leadership situations, this is not the case for use of loci of communications. The study proposes three communication alternatives---official, personal, and structural---that principals can readily employ as appropriate to gain effective social control over teachers.

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